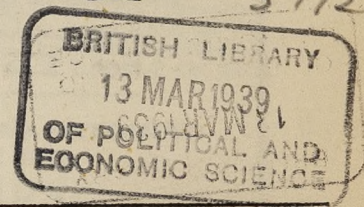


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FEBRUARY 1939

The
**CHRISTIAN
PACIFIST**

A
new series of
Reconciliation



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The CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

FEBRUARY, 1939

The Christian Pacifist is the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and of the Christian Pacifist Crusade (Congregational) the Methodist Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship, the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, the (English) Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, the Church of Scotland Peace Society, the Scottish Congregational Ministers, Peace Society, and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The aim of the paper is to become a vehicle of the positive message of Christian pacifism. Its policy is guided by the following sponsors, those starred forming an Editorial Committee: *Canon C. E. Raven (Chairman), *the Rev. Leslie Artingstall, the Rev. W. Harold Beales, the Rev. James Binns, the Rev. Henry Carter, the Rev. A. C. Craig, Miss Ruth Fry, *the Rev. C. Paul Gliddon, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, *Mr. Eric Hayman, Mr. Carl Heath, *the Rev. Leslie Keeble, *the Rev. Lewis Maclachlan, Mr. Hubert W. Peet, Mr. F. E. Pollard, Dr. James Reid, the Rev. Leyton Richards, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, the Rev. J. W. Stevenson.

THE CURRENT OF AFFAIRS

Spain

The renewed demand, both in this country and in America, for intervention in Spain or for the supply of arms to the Spanish Government shows the need for clear thinking and sound judgment as well as for warm-hearted feeling. "Give them a fair chance to fight it out" sounds very sporting, but it treats Spain as a cockpit. The first thing to do is to stop the war, not to try to make it fairer. For no war can be fair, and no amount of fighting in Spain or anywhere else can settle anything. The reason for not intervening in Spain is not that we are a party to a non-intervention agreement which other parties have broken, but because to intervene is only to prolong the duration and probably extend the sphere of war to the worsening of the situation all round. Of course, the other parties have done a dishonourable thing in intervening after pledging their word not to do so, but a dishonourable act on their part will not justify a stupid one on ours. Those who are beseeching their governments to give the Spanish Government a chance are betraying a curious faith in the arbitrament of war. We must make it clear that what we want is not a fair fight but no fight at all. To continue

fighting is only disastrous and can do no good to any party in Spain. Military observers have even said that the taking of Barcelona by General Franco may prove an advantage to the Government, which is thereby relieved of the necessity of feeding a million or more non-combatants whose needs will now become a burden on the Insurgent resources. War indeed has its grim ironies.

War is Business

Brave and unselfish deeds can doubtless be done in the emergencies of war as well as in other and more normal spheres of life, and we would say nothing to detract from the merit of those individual soldiers who have proved their courage in battle. But when we think of war not as the part of the individual, which is only incidental, but as a programme of military operations, there is no place left for heroism. War can now be reduced, it seems, to a matter of money. We are told that the Spanish Government is being beaten for want of money. It is the side that has the money that wins—a sordid business. A court of arbitration in which the party that can pay more comes off best! The justice of his cause has, of course, nothing to do with it. Yet the plea to continue the war

in Spain is made on the ground of justice! We used to laugh at the financial victories of the Chinese. They at least had the sense and the sense of humour to pay their money instead of fighting. Modern warfare can be equally reduced to a matter of business, but the slaughter is retained to give the impression of reality.

No Peace For China

Hopes for the cessation of fighting in China have faded with the expulsion from the Government of Wang Ching Wei, whose reported presence in South China at the same time as Doihara, the "Lawrence" of Japan, gave rise to rumours of a possible armistice. The recent change of Government in Japan, by which Baron Hiranuma succeeds Prince Konoe as Prime Minister, is a victory for the military party, but nevertheless one in which the militarists have been compelled to accept a compromise. Baron Hiranuma was regarded as the man to fuse together all political parties into one totalitarian whole, but though he has come into power the political parties are to remain, to the chagrin of the army. There is a clear divergence of opinion between the older statesmen, who value the friendship of Britain and America, and the young men both in army and civilian life, who are intoxicated with nationalism and believe that the democracies are decadent. Everything depends on how far the older generation can for a time command the situation in Japan and how far the Chinese Government can retain its unity.

National Service

The Government's booklet on National Service makes sad reading. What no Government has ever thought it worth while to do for peace or social welfare is now being done for war. The whole nation is to be war-minded and the high ideal of communal service debased to serve a military purpose. Like all evil devices, the book is the very picture of innocence and will undoubtedly deceive many who will say, "Well, there can't be any harm in putting out a fire"—or whatever it happens to be. What many of our leaders in Church and State need to learn is that a good action used for a bad purpose becomes bad, just as a good purpose served by a bad action becomes bad. To accept the suggestions of this book and to apply for enrolment in one of the forms of service listed is undoubtedly to play into the hands of those who are preparing for war.

A Pacifist Public School

Many charitably-minded people regard Christian pacifism as a sort of over-accentuated and slightly eccentric type of Christianity. To this widespread impression it must be admitted many pacifists have contributed, but we can never be content to win for pacifism toleration—even official toleration—as one aspect of the gospel. We must demonstrate that sober common-sense as well as sound theology demands pacifism as a prime necessity. If this is to be done we must win for the pacifist faith not only the rather exceptional and advanced and experimental sections of Church and nation; we must also invade with our message the great national institutions. The pacifist message must be preached not in the cranky mission hall but in the established Church, not in Hyde Park only but in Parliament itself. But if pacifism is to become an accepted feature of normal English life, one stronghold it must assault is the English public school, which is of the very essence of English nationality and culture. A pacifist public school may sound like a contradiction in terms, but there is no good reason why it should be. Ideals of chivalry, sportsmanship, service and the like are surely not incompatible with a philosophy which repudiates modern war as wholly evil. As a matter of fact pacifism has already invaded the great public schools and pacifist literature finds circulation in some of our historical educational foundations as in some other astonishing places.

Already Under Consideration

It is doubtful, however, whether any existing public school could, within reasonable expectation, declare itself pacifist. If public school tradition is to be permeated with pacifist ideals it will be necessary for a new public school, a pacifist public school, to be founded. There is already under consideration at this moment a project for the foundation of a new public school which, while retaining all the best traditions of English public school life, will be essentially and thoroughly pacifist. Such an adventure must be of interest not only to pacifist educationists but to all who desire pacifism to become a normal feature of English life and thought. There is already in being the nucleus of a governing body which welcomes enquiries and opinions. Quaker schools, with their high reputation, have of course led the way in pacifist education, and there are several excellent private schools which are largely or wholly pacifist. Does there not remain room for

a school which will not be associated with any one part of the Church and which, while entirely free to pursue a curriculum not only free from military training but pacifist throughout in religious and educational principle, will have nothing eccentric in its educational method?

Petition Week

The Petition National Committee has decided that the closing date for the Petition shall be March 4th, 1939, so that the central and local deputations and demonstrations based upon the completed Petition can be held before Easter. The Committee desires, therefore, to see the *fullest possible effort exerted* in the remaining weeks of the campaign, and among other proposals is recommending that the period February 19th-25th be utilised as a special "Sign the Petition Week." This plan is not intended to take the place of the house-to-house canvass wherever the canvass is possible. The "Week" is primarily intended for centres where a canvass is not practicable (though some of its features could easily be combined with a canvass) and its purpose will be to ensure that at least some organised action in support of the Petition shall have been undertaken in every town throughout the country. The "Week" can also be used to bring to a climax work which has already been commenced, and in all cases it is understood that local organisers may choose other dates than those recommended if local circumstances seem to require it.

Czechoslovakia

The Peace Army has recently sent three observers to Czechoslovakia to study conditions in that unhappy country at first hand. They now report that there is a sufficiency of workers and money to maintain the refugees, but that there is urgent need for more to be done from this country to get refugees permanently settled. Particularly is it necessary to do something quickly for those affected by the new decree that all persons who have entered Czechoslovakia from Germany since 1933 must leave at once on pain of deportation to Germany. These include Reichsgerman and Sudeten-German refugees, Jewish, Social-Democrat and Pacifist. It is obviously impossible to settle many thousands of people permanently within a few weeks. The British Government should be urged to adopt a system of block temporary visas for adults in order that these people may find safety in this country for a few months while their permanent settlement

elsewhere is arranged. The National Peace Council has asked the Home Office to receive a deputation on this matter. Letters from individuals to the Home Secretary will add force to this appeal.

Help the Refugees

Probably the only Christian reply to the violence of dictators is to say, "We are ready to receive all your victims." That may look at first sight like incitement to still more violence and like asking to be exploited as sentimental fools. We have to take that risk in the hope that unstinted generosity may have a moral quality in it not without ultimate effect on the worst of persecutors. In any case, the victims are crying out for our help, and what are chiefly needed in order that the necessary visas and permits may be issued are personal guarantees, in the form of signatures to papers issued by the Home Office. It will mean direct help in getting refugees out of Germany if people willing to sign the following statement can be found:

"In consideration of the British Government's granting permission to the following person or . . . to come to this country for the purpose of taking up residence, either temporary or permanent, I, the undersigned, being a householder and declaring myself to be possessed of sufficient means to carry out the necessary financial operation, do hereby unconditionally guarantee to hold myself responsible for his (her, their) maintenance and upkeep during such time as he (she, they) may be allowed to reside in this country."

If you could sign such a statement (over a sixpenny stamp) you could get a refugee out of Germany. If you are willing to do this, send us your name and address and we will put you in touch.

A visitor to Mr. Gandhi said: "You do not know Hitler and Mussolini. They are incapable of any kind of moral response." He said that these dictators were totally impervious to world opinion and that they had no conscience. Hence it would be playing into their hands if the victims confronted them with non-violence. Mr. Gandhi replied: "Your argument presupposes that the dictators like Mussolini and Hitler are beyond redemption. But belief in non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature in its essence is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the advances of love . . ."

TOWARDS A CHRISTIAN ECONOMIC

NO one with any heart can fail to see the need for change in the present social and industrial order, and no one with any mind will suppose that the necessary changes are simple and obvious. It is not enough to point to the glaring denials of the Christian faith which are features of the way in which the world wins its daily bread, though we should like to see the Church of Christ very much more perturbed about these than it usually appears to be. The question immediately arises: What are we to do? and to this question there is such a confusing variety of answer that in default of one clear plan of action the present system is allowed to remain corrupting the earth like a pirate, whose execution is indefinitely postponed while his judges quarrel over him. Many members of the Churches who have renounced war as a clear implication of their Christian faith, have no idea what they should renounce to avoid participation in economic warfare. With regard to war, there is something that one can do—refuse to fight. But with regard to social wrongs, what is there that the individual can do or advocate to remove the scandal?

It is to help to answer this question, that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has published a book written by its own General Secretary entitled "Towards a Christian Economic." Much of it has already appeared as a series of articles in "Reconciliation," which are now presented in book form, incorporating the result of much correspondence and discussion. This book is not a work for the expert; it is no learned contribution to economic science, still less is it a contribution to English literature. It is an introduction to a subject of vital importance. It is as such that the book is to be recommended to every Christian worker. Whether its conclusions are acceptable or not, it confronts the conscience with the urgent need of action by the Church in the sphere of economics and presents the Christian way of life as the uncompromising opponent, not only of our present capitalism, but equally of its adversaries. The whole aim of the book is practical, and far from being a mere airing of views, it suggests definite plans of action for members and congregations of the Christian Church.

Mr. Artingstall is no revolutionary. He approaches the subject with the maturity of thought that takes no undue risks and see nothing

heroic or helpful in leaping out of the frying pan into the fire. It is just this strain of caution which may lose for him the sympathy of the hot-headed reader. But Mr. Artingstall has no illusions about the present order. He begins by enquiring whether there can be any concord between Capitalism and Christianity, and after frankly acknowledging all that is to be said for Capitalism he rejects the possibility of any reconciliation between the present system and the Christian ethic.

Attempts, such as Social Credit, to modify the present system in such a way as to remedy its evils while retaining its benefits are weighed in the balances and found wanting. Mr. Artingstall then reviews alternatives to the present order. In Socialism he finds an ideal akin to that of Christianity, and in Russia a realisation to which he gives generous appreciation. But Socialism, whether in Russia or in Britain, is not so much an end as a means, and in its methods it is confessedly, like capitalism, coercive, relying ultimately on violence to achieve its ends. That need not render it offensive to the great majority of Christian people who see nothing wrong in fighting when necessary in a good cause, but it forbids the full allegiance of the pacifist who must look for some other non-violent method of attaining social justice.

Mr. Artingstall finds the way to a Christian social order not in any hair-raising scheme of revolution, but chiefly in two very respectable and peaceful movements which have both been long enough with us to allow us to feel quite at home with them. The first is the movement for the taxation of land values, and the second co-operative trading. Such a mild answer to a rather alarming question may disappoint the reader who wants a thriller even in economics, and this simple, convinced advocacy of almost old-fashioned remedies may feel like a bidding to go and wash in Jordan when we expected a new and startling dispensation. If we are going to fall back on such commonplace cures, have not most of us Abanas and Pharpars of our own for which we have a natural preference? Nevertheless, the plea made here for these time-honoured reforms compels a new examination of them as expressions of the Christian spirit and means to the realisation of a God-controlled order. L.M.

AGE TO YOUTH*

PERCY W. BARTLETT

HAVING no claim to be an educationist myself, perhaps the only service I can render as a peace worker to a gathering of educationists is to propound a number of questions—questions which, as it seems to me, the present circumstances force on the attention of teachers. My departure point is that practising educationists are an activist and concerned group standing in point of age between the departing and the oncoming generations, and that their job is (a) partly to ensure that tradition is handed on and taken up—that is what the torch symbol means—and (b) partly to ensure that with the necessary apparatus the new creativeness represented by the younger age groups shall have its full chance. Education is thus both a matter of ancient values and a hope of new capacity and quality of being.

Now, what relation is there between this sort of consideration, weighing on the mind of teachers who are working to any sort of principle, and those considerations prominent in the minds of persons who, under moral or religious or humanitarian concern, preach internationalism and try, not merely to fend off war, but to construct peace? Must the teacher push the peace worker aside as a mere propagandist with a one-track mind, or is the teacher after all bound to receive some, at any rate, of his values from just such an idealist and would-be artificer in the relationships of mankind? My own belief is that the teacher is bound to say that the ideals of the liberal humanitarian and pacifist, of the internationalist and indeed the Christian, are the things towards which he would wish his pupils to work.

Should Age Warn Youth?

If we are now indeed at a turning-point between the old world and either a new world or none at all, the question must be put more pointedly. With reference to the perplexities and anxieties of our time, what can be, what ought to be said (said in the broadest sense of the word), through the teachers, by the people of fifty and sixty to those great groups of young persons very soon to leave schools and colleges

* An address to the Society for Research in Education at University College, London.

to confront the challenges of the world with some sense of responsibility? What ought to be asked, begged, pointed out, propounded, even declared? Or do we just bottle up our anxieties, let things rip, let youth plunge in at the deep end equipped with what it has of the Three R's, and trust to the inherent wisdom of the younger folk, convinced that by natural ability they can best answer the questions of their time? Responsibility based on experience is, of course, the ancient watchword of age, and the very thing that makes him such a bore to youth. Yet, as officers of the watch just going off, are we not bound to give the position and the course, with just a hint of dirty weather ahead, before actually handing over the helm? The men concerned with other aspects of life, say, with poetry, art, science—I am not sure whether I ought to say religion—might conceivably be able to point to better prospects. But in the sphere of international politics and economics, if civilisation is to be saved from disaster, it certainly looks from our point of view as if action is urgently required. "Something," as usual, "ought to be done." But what is that something and how do we get its nature over to those others, and how foresee the psychological effect of what we say about it?

If those called to be teachers and trained for the job are the right people to say anything that has to be said to these great age groups just about to take over, do they want to consult us fifties and sixties or would they prefer not to do so? Certainly most of the other fifties and sixties are not willing to say nothing. Very definite things are, in fact, being said at this moment in the newspapers and in Parliament, for instance; and teachers have to cope with that fact. In the name of A—values more or less vaguely specified—youth, it is said, ought to, must, do B or C—which will be specified and then perhaps changed and changed again, but will at last work out to mean the killing of other people. That, at any rate, is one reading of the current demand for "national" service. Some of us cannot forget how terrified age similarly drove youth into conscription twenty years ago and before. Have not teachers, then, a duty either to reinforce, or else to correct and even contradict these demands according to the real values in view?

The Terror that is Youth

There is some justification for the anxiety of those who remain of the generations active during the war, as to what youth is now doing and likely to do. It seems so clear that youth can only know some of the facts of, say, war and peace, doubtful whether its courage and adventurousness is always in touch with sufficiently deep spiritual resources to see it rightly through a great crisis, and a question as to what emotions are dominant. The part that certain masses of younger people have taken in affairs of recent years also gives some cause for anxiety. For example, students have been very largely responsible for certain revolutions; they have been active in China, the terrorist movement in Bengal and the rest of India has been their work. Again, the youth movement in Germany was at once the material and the opportunity for Nazism, and Nazism and Fascism and all totalitarian movements, not excluding the Church, have taken hold of youth in the mass both emotionally and organisationally. On the other hand, it is obvious that youth is being divided from itself by doctrines of race, nationhood and "kultur," because it is being made a prey to false systems of education. And quite apart from particular political systems, while governments bear the responsibility for maintaining and controlling armies and waging wars, it is actually youth which in those circumstances is guilty of the looting, the rape and much other disregard of law and morals inseparable from militarism. Still more broadly, youth (perhaps not exclusively) may be regarded as the area in which, during recent decades, secularism has spread, convention has broken down, old values have been discarded, and, as it would seem, little has been constructed except machines for further destruction. Is this merely the usual lament of age, or are the circumstances such as to require of teachers special thought as to where our education has failed and as to the new values that ought to be establishing themselves in the minds of those coming on?

Educationists and State Worship

One other point forces itself upon attention. Whereas educationists and others have for long put all their emphasis on the value of personality, politics as well as industry is tending more and more to regiment young people and to use them in the mass. What now, to use Napoleon's words, are a million men as contrasted with the

interests, the values, the emotions, the whole being of this great new god, the State?

But my particular problem, looking forward to some kind of future for civilisation, is how to construct peace, peace not simply as an interval between wars but as a condition of human affairs in which righteousness and peace shall have kissed each other and human energy be directed not to internecine strife but to the conquest and control of the forces of nature. It is a question of establishing new human relationships, of the release of higher motivations, of the solution, for example, of the economic problem of distribution—how, in fact, things can be given away. With ideas of that sort in mind, it is impossible not to believe that, as an ideal of education, the creation of the spirit of trust and confidence and willingness to share is better than the inculcation of the ideas of obedience on the one hand or of command on the other. The problem, then, is how to enable younger people to release the powers they surely have in order to solve the immediate political and economic problems of our day, to build up a really international world, and thus to raise standards everywhere.

Age Sends Its S.O.S. to Youth

As against the tendency to regiment the younger people and to demand that they should serve in existing forms of organisation, still more in contrast with our tendency to reproduce our prejudices and especially our suspicions and fears, I would like to make just one suggestion. Can teachers see a way in which, without thrusting upon young people burdens that they ought not to be asked to bear, we should be able to appeal to youth to face up to the problems that we admittedly cannot solve and have, in fact, succeeded only in rendering more complicated? Any warnings that we offered would necessarily seem grandmotherly, and they might easily produce only the daredevil; command provokes rebellion, heavy advice is meaningless, and appeal to experience is obviously vain. But frank admission of need carries its own appeal. I suggest that it creates just that trust, confidence, love, willingness to share, the very values that some of us most care about. As a fifty-to-sixty, therefore, most keen about the larger solidarity of mankind, I want to ask teachers to make this appeal to the younger folk to take hold of as much as they feel they can of the political and economic

problem of this actual moment, which seems to us critical for the world. I want teachers to find a way of presenting even the largest problems, saying on our behalf quite humbly that we do not know how to solve them, perhaps not even how to state them, but to suggest that in active co-operation for their solution may be found at once the scope for individuality and

the true human solidarity for which all of us are seeking. I believe that if youth is thus appealed to, and thus tactfully helped to see the nature and size of the problem, youth will turn at once and spontaneously to age for any advice that it may rightly be able to give, and that certainly the two together will see the ideal in a rather clearer light.

CONCERNING COMMUNITY

LESLIE STUBBINGS

IT is natural to conceive of community in terms of a community: the particular one that has been visited or read about. But it is a limiting conception. Community is not a pattern, a programme, a plan or an institution. It is a living spirit and it expresses itself in very many and various organic relationships. These spontaneous manifestations come from people of widely diverse background: they are confined to no single class or country, church or race or creed. All across the world, wherever free men and women gather together, this challenge of "a life based on love" is emerging as an answer to the warning shadows of fear and death that threaten the nations.

Essentially a religious revolution, Community has developed along few of the chosen channels of orthodoxy. Spiritual revolutions seldom do. It has taken shape from outside the churches as much as from within. Yet within the churches also its spirit is working and sometimes transforming. A recent copy of the *Church Times* contained a significant letter from the vicar of a northern country parish. Writing of the almost insuperable difficulties of carrying on ordinary parish work in country districts to-day, he suggests as a solution:

"the small Christian farming Community . . . here the priest could live with his family in a community which worked on the land like those round them but, at the same time, were determined to live together the Christian life of prayer, sacrament and charity. The village church could be the centre of their life. Are there any Christian laymen who are prepared to buy a Cumberland farm or two and get such an experiment to work? There are certainly plenty of Christians who are so convinced of the futility of trying to live a Christian life under modern industrial conditions that they would willingly escape to a simpler one."

The Economics of the Eucharist

Our attention was drawn to this extract by the priest in charge of a crowded London parish. He, too, is working towards a form of urban community that can centre in the worship of the church: its communicants realising that their communion, if it is truly a thing of the Spirit, should express itself—as all real community must—in material daily sharing; that poverty and need are a denial of that "membership one of another," that believers profess around the table of the Lord, yet sometimes forget outside the doors of the church.

Another friend—a layman—writes: "Most of my friends at the church to which I belong know what I believe about the necessity for community, but none of them has really much faith in such schemes. What I should like is to get in touch with other Christians who feel as I do so that we may come to know and understand one another and discuss the possibilities of forming an income-pooling group in London . . ."

Some readers may want to hear more of this suggestion.

Our January notes brought amongst others a letter from Dugald Semple, veteran pacifist of the early days of the F.o.R. He writes from Ayrshire:

"We have a few acres of land here which we should like to develop along the lines of co-operative simple living by a group of Christian pacifists. Could you put me in touch with Scottish friends who are willing to form such a group?"

And so Community grows and spreads, quietly and as yet hardly observed.

Letters giving or asking information are welcomed by the Community Service Committee (Hon. Sec., "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey).

THE MYTH OF THE MAN IN THE STREET

PAUL GLIDDON

MUSSOLINI and Hitler or, as we say to-day, Hitler and Mussolini, gentlemen who, in a quiet way, are said to exercise considerable influence in European politics, must often look with envious eyes at the frightful authority of that mysterious, sinister figure, the Man in the Street. Britain may find no place for tyranny, even the power we do vest in our rulers is so carefully safeguarded that they could hardly do what they wanted even if they knew what it was, but there are few who would dare to count the slightest whim of the Man in the Street as other than their unwritten law. "Le roi le veut" is a sentence with a certain degree of finality, but it is a pallid sort of declaration compared with those dread words, "the Man in the Street is against it."

When politicians modestly wish to explain the infallibility of their opinions, they always invoke on their behalf the support of the Man in the Street; when journalists desire to wither with a word the absurd views of the paper which does not employ them, they explain that such views may commend themselves to the "Daily Whatchyoucallit," but would receive short shrift from the Man in the Street; and it is to the same shrouded dictator that young clergymen appeal when they are trying to expose the obscurantism of obstructive dignitaries.

More Matter For Psychology

Anyone engaged in propaganda of any sort must clearly regard the study of the Man in the Street as the most important part of his researches. Psychology which, at its best, is said by some to be what a previous generation called "horse sense," demands a close understanding of so central a figure; his interests must be catalogued, his reactions carefully noted, his dreams analysed. Only when this is done shall we be in a position to decide how best he is to be treated, how most completely fulfil himself.

But here a difficulty which might otherwise be overlooked presents itself, for the first thing we notice about the Man in the Street is that he does not exist. A street is not made for a man but for men and the only street in which you are likely to meet one errant, startled, lonely man is a blind road. Streets are built for crowds and the men in the street are men of

every shape and size, men who differ far more than the rats in Hamelin Town and who carry such frightening diversity into their minds and into their very souls as well. There are individual men but there is no individual who is man, though there once was an Individual who was very man and the comment His contemporaries passed upon Him was that, so far from being like everyman, "Never man so spake."

Having, therefore, casually noted that the Man in the Street is really a myth, we are in a better position to consider him in greater detail. Now this man is a multitude, he is not a man but he is the men who walk in main streets, who live in back streets, who live in the village streets and, as it is of Englishmen we are thinking, where the female population exceeds the male, we have to note that the Man in the Street is rather more woman than man.

Man, the Toiler

What does this creature do? Well, he spends his time trying to make both ends meet until at last he can do so no longer and his fading vision just discerns his children making the same impossible attempt and wondering whether the old man's funeral expenses won't postpone indefinitely their success. Of course, he does other things besides work, but he is so accustomed to think of himself as a worker that, if you ask him what he is, he does not reply, "Sir, I am the Man in the Street," but "I'm a plumber, booking-clerk, housewife, policeman, shop girl, labourer, chorus girl, finisher," or whatever it may be. Perhaps he is right because he is as often himself in doing what he has to do as he is in those embarrassing times when he is free to do just what he wants.

For it is his times of leisure that often disclose his most depressing self. The Man in the Street spends his money on the Green Belt but his time at the dogs, and when he does go into the country it is not to visit beauty but beauty spots of whose existence he would hardly know were it not for the not disinterested aesthetic counsel of the motor coaches. He goes to the pictures whenever he can, he is not above sharing in the sadistic thrills of all-in wrestling, and he contemplates eternity without enthusiasm, seeing that it is hard and expensive enough to kill even time.

The Limitations of his Literature

But, as it is to the judgment and wisdom of the Man in the Street that appeal is so often confidently made, we ought to make special note of his capacity for reaching wise decisions. It is not possible to study the reading of the Man in the Street at his own fireside but the man in the Tube is only the Man in the Street slightly submerged and his reading it is quite possible to assess. On the later morning trains *The Times* and *Telegraph* find honourable place, but the worker reads neither *The Times* nor the *Herald* nor that daily which contains his name; it is the picture papers that command his coin. There may be almost two million unemployed and the world may be shaking in the rigors of death but the press he patronises knows little of these things. These papers give headlines to their news in letters which leave little room for other matter and, although they have so far stopped short of putting a hyphen between each syllable, the conventions of a first reading book are otherwise faithfully observed. And the very world of which they write is a fairy world of blonde and somehow therefore wealthy widows who marry charming young men, of princes who marry servant girls (also blonde), of fortunes made in a night and misfortunes forgotten in a day, of romances that begin, of romances that end, of anything and everything that does not mean that 55s. a week has got to do the work of 75s., and that there is no security even in that minute income.

This press he favours lies with the fatal power which belongs to accuracy. It does not wantonly make false statements but it correctly photographs patches and isolated sections of life and leaves the impression that such life really is. Alternately it patronises and assails the Christian Church, calls the man who revolts against his Church government a hero and the man who revolts against the government of his nation a traitor, and in other ways discloses so complete a lack of principle that one concludes it has no knowledge that principles perhaps exist. Such papers the Man in the Street is not compelled to read; there are others he could buy with equal ease; these he purchases because these he prefers.

Such is Our Problem

Not, therefore, with some stern realist, not with a creature in revolt against times out of joint, not with someone particularly kindly, not with a soul consciously seeking God, not with any of these have we to deal when we

think of the Man in the Street. Yet, whether we like it or not, he is our concern and his conversion is our business. It is no part of a soldier's trade to pretend that the obstacles facing him are other than they are; it is his to conquer what confronts. Therefore it is the business of the pacifist to recognise the character of the conflict and to ask himself how he is going to win, not some imagined opposition, but the opposition that is really there.

And in this he can find some comfort, for the Man in the Street would not be in the street if only he had found his home. Poor, vagrant gamin, he thinks he was intended for the streets and knows little of the security of home nor yet of streets that stretch beyond the city gates, transformed to roads, transfigured into lanes. The Man in the Street is no Lord of Creation, no dictator of the world, but a prince in exile whose mind has played him false. If we are to do anything with him, if he is to do anything with us, it can only be as there returns the memory of a forgotten glory and he sets off to seek that City to which he has sovereign claim.

THE LONDON THEATRE

Bernard Shaw's "Geneva"

Anyone who goes to the Saville Theatre expecting to see a pacifist play, or even something of constructive power, will be sadly disappointed, but Bernard Shaw has certainly given a devastating criticism of the policies—or lack of policy—which menace Europe to-day. There is no hero in this play, unless it be the Judge at the Hague Court, and the character who appears in the most friendly light is the one who, in the world of current politics, would be equated by General Franco. Not very satisfactory to some of us is the introduction of either the Bishop or the Deaconess, but the Bishop mercifully appears only in the first act, which is in any case so poor that a character worth the watching would seem out of place.

It is in the third act that Shaw re-establishes the greatness that belongs to him and not only gives us a ruthless analysis—or is it a caricature?—of the dictators and their ideas, to whom the British politician presents an amusingly accurate contrast, but writes lines some of which are worthy of the author of "St. Joan."

N.B.—See "The Citadel," which is as good as its most favourable criticisms suggest, and do not be put off from going to "Goodness, How Sad," by its ridiculous title.

P.G.

COUNTRY LETTER

WHILE I was trying to write a few quiet words last Tuesday, suddenly there was a sound like a small typhoon and in blew Gus. Gus is a Major in the Territorials. I hadn't seen him for weeks, for he's been so busy defending the country, especially at weekends, and I wondered to what this unexpected visit could be due. It was evident from his face, which registered excessive importance with a dash of mystery, that something had happened and that Gus was fearfully pleased. For the first moment I thought he had come to announce his wedding, but I soon saw that it was something much more serious than that.

He waited till the door was shut, then twisting a grin of satisfaction into a becoming frown of severity, he said, with that little intake of breath with which he fills out his chest and conveys a sense of tremendous gravity, "Well, we've got guards mounted at all vulnerable spots."

"Have you?" said I, in a tone of sympathy. "Do tell me about it."

Gus smacked his lips. "All the bridges, reservoirs, waterworks—" he began.

"I see," I interrupted, trying to put in an intelligent word, as the rain lashed on the windows. "You're anticipating another drought."

Gus looked at me with strained patience. "Haven't you read the paper?" he demanded.

As a matter of fact, I hadn't. I'm dreadfully careless about daily readings and felt myself faintly blushing for shame. Gus, I knew, never missed his devotional five minutes at Holy Scripture, followed by twenty-five with the *Daily Mail*.

"I'm afraid I've only just looked at it," I stammered. I couldn't very well help looking at it as it lay on top of the litter on my desk. Gus's desk is always a model of tidiness. He keeps it for playing patience.

But my confession of ignorance so far from winning Gus's reproof seemed to endear me to him. He addressed me as an unspoilt audience.

"You haven't heard of the outrages! All over the country!" Gus leapt to his feet and began to tread the hearth rug excitedly. My cat leapt on the chair he had vacated and began to tread

the cushions in exactly the same manner, but whether the cat was copying Gus or Gus the cat I could not determine. My attention was wandering.

"We don't know yet," Gus was saying, "but I can tell you in confidence. The Intelligence Department have evidence of a deeply-laid plot. The Irish again! But, of course, if you want my opinion, I think"—lowering his voice—"that the real enemy behind all this is Germany."

"Germany!" I echoed. "Really, now, if you had said Russia—" As he certainly would have said a few years ago.

"No," said Gus firmly, with the air of one who is determined to be fair. "I wouldn't go as far as that."

"Russia is farther," I murmured, trying hard to find some point of agreement. I disagree with Gus on so many things that it's a relief to find some common ground. He's such a good fellow.

"No, it's the Germans," repeated Gus with one of his smiles of assurance.

"Perhaps the refugees," I suggested, "or the Jews. Or why not the Arabs? There's a lot of them in South Shields."

Gus left me. For a man who hadn't a moment to spare, it was good of him to give me the hour he had. He was very grave as he shut the gate, and walked down the road as solemnly as though it had been Downing Street.

The trouble with Gus is that he's of no importance in peace time. "Peace time" is one of his own phrases. It seems to suggest that peace is not quite a normal condition—a sort of vacation between the really important phases of history, necessary, of course, as a period of relaxation and preparation. Gus's civilian job (another of his pet phrases) could be done by any child, and I fancy he's a good deal bossed and probably scolded at the office as well as at home. But in—well, in an emergency Gus becomes one of the most important men in the county, issuing orders to all and sundry.

I've often thought that war needs some more psychological investigation. L.M.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

United States

Nevin Sayre is not only Chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, but also President of the National Peace Conference of America, a body federating a large number of peace organisations of various shades and engaged now on a campaign for world economic co-operation. Recently a very influentially-signed letter was addressed to the President of the United States calling for a military and economic disarmament conference and urging that every practical step should be taken towards the negotiation of a general peace settlement; and Nevin Sayre led a small deputation to the President on December 28th to support the petition.

After speaking of the Munich Agreement as affording a breathing-space, the petition to the President says:

"We are appalled at the accelerated pace with which the armaments of the nations are being expanded. World armament expenditures have risen from \$4,000,000,000 in 1933 to \$17,000,000,000 in 1938. Moreover, this precipitous rise in military budgets has been accompanied by policies of economic nationalism, power politics and the threatened disorganisation of the world community . . . Mr. President, in this hour of world crisis, we appeal to you to exercise the influence and active leadership of the United States in support of international conference and conciliation. The record of the United States in this respect is on the whole an enviable one. The Good Neighbour Policy of your Administration has added a new and brilliant chapter to this record. It is precisely because of this record that you are in a unique position to initiate negotiations to the end that the present ominous drift in world affairs may be arrested . . . We are under no illusions with respect to the difficulties which must be met and overcome if peace and justice is to prevail. We are convinced, however, that the influence of the United States should once more be registered on the side of international conference and conciliation. It should be possible, within the measurably near future, for

our own and other governments to issue a call for a World Conference on Economic and Military Disarmament which we hope would include, among its members, not only representatives of government but outstanding leaders of industry, labour, education and religion. Such action on your part would meet with our unqualified endorsement and active support."

Japan

Friends in Japan ask us to pray for them. A letter from one "in His service" in Tokio expresses concern about anti-foreign and especially anti-British feeling in Japan, which is the very food of the militarist. The presentation of the British case is wholly non-Christian. Is not the time come for the right Christian pacifist ambassador to go to Japan to try to get into touch with thought and feeling there? Our correspondent thinks that the outcome for goodwill and friendship would be concrete and that the purposes of the Kingdom of God would be advanced. And the letter is written with the knowledge that "in China, there is the most terrible mass suffering of all history, with something like 20 millions of destitute Chinese." An appeal has just been made to friends in Japan to contribute to the relief of refugees.

India

Muriel Lester writes: "We were met at Bombay by one of Gandhi's friends, and spread our bedding for the night journey to Wardha. Last time I visited Segaoon; from Wardha we went by ox-cart. Now there was much coming and going of cars between the city and the charming little village where Gandhi lives, because the Working Committee of the Congress was being held the following day, and Vallabhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, Serojini Naidu and other notables were foregathering as usual to talk things over with Gandhi before the Committee started.

"We had four or five different talks with Gandhi. He had just written a rejoinder to the German press attack on him for his article

on the Jews and Germany. He had already seen a number of the delegates to the International Missionary Conference, the talk with Dr. Mott having been an excellent experience apparently from all points of view. Having been accustomed to seeing a definitely ascetic diet placed before Gandhi, I was surprised to see quite interesting-looking dishes, as well as chapatis, included in his meal. He looks much better than in 1936, and his hour's walk at 6.30, morning and evening, is taken at a great pace, and with obvious pleasure.

"I had a long talk with C. F. Andrews. He is this year's Chairman of the Philosophical Association of India. His address is to be on 'The Cross.' When I was asked to broadcast the other day I chose 'Crisis Week Among my Neighbours in East London.' I thought I'd put in a good whack on 'Non-Violence in the West.' I knew the Congress Ministry would not censor my script. After sending it in I found it was the Central Government that controls broadcasting, so I expected to be rung up or find a few paragraphs deleted on arrival at the studio—but on the contrary was paid thirty shillings for the ten minutes!

"Next week, at the end of the Conference, we start out from Madras on a ten days' tour, taking seven or eight delegates and friends."

Central Europe

From a private letter written by one who has much to do with refugees:—"Because we are overburdened and do not know how to help in too many cases, I sometimes fear to see the visitor because I know I cannot help him. But I have had an experience which I had not found in my former large social work; there I did not like to say an encouraging word if I could not give material help; but here and now and for those unhappy outcasts I sometimes try to find a good word, if I have not the refuge and not the money for the refugee. I learn anew: Man shall not live by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Now we thank God that He sometimes opens His mouth with us. And we thank God also when He opens His hand. Sometimes I could see already behind you the shadow of the eternal. I thank God with you that He blesses us sometimes to be His hand or mouth. And I thank God for the hands and eyes and tongues He is awakening by the

sufferings of this time. Could we become strong enough to suffer with the sufferers in the strength of the Son of Man!

"Your Christmas gift has fulfilled for me in the darkness of this time the prophecy that I could see a great light, and makes us children of the light."

Bulgaria

A letter from Bulgaria reminds us that there, as in so many other countries, numbers of political prisoners lie in gaol without hope of release. Recently an appeal was addressed by wives and mothers to the responsible Ministry, pointing out that these prisoners are not guilty of common crimes and urging that, since the political conditions that gave rise to their political acts and to their imprisonment have passed away, amnesty would be right and would show that Bulgaria had entered on the way of justice and toleration. But Bulgaria has refugees and other impoverished people on her hands as well as political prisoners. Like the rest of Europe, she needs not only respite from war but a higher standard of living and closer economic relations with the rest of Europe in order to make that possible.

Increase of Giving to the I.F.o.R.

The Council of the I.F.o.R. at its meeting at Lunteren adopted after very careful consideration a budget totalling £2,000. It was felt that this expenditure was necessary and right in view of the enlarged staff approved by the Council on the recommendation of the Chairman, J. Nevin Sayre. There and then several much appreciated individual donations were made; and the representatives of several of the national Fellowships felt that they could anticipate increased contributions to help cover the new expenditure; and these half-promises are being ratified by the national committees. The American Fellowship hopes to increase its gift in 1939 from \$2,500 to \$3,000. The British F.o.R. is estimating for a contribution of £750 instead of £500. Henri Roser writes from *La Réconciliation* that replies to a letter sent out to 120 friends in France mean that the rent for 1939 of the office in Paris, now the office of the French Fellowship, is covered for the year. And he expects that the contribution of £25 to the funds of the I.F.o.R. will not only be maintained against an unfavourable exchange but also increased.

THE METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP BULLETIN

This is what we hope will be the first of many denominational Peace Fellowship bulletins appearing from time to time in "The Christian Pacifist" by arrangement with its Editorial Committee. Reprints of this bulletin will be sent to every member of the M.P.F. who does not receive "The Christian Pacifist." In this way the Executive of the M.P.F. will be able to keep more closely in touch with members up and down the country, and bring before them its special concerns.

We hope that as a result of receiving the reprint of this bulletin many members will want to increase their subscription from a smaller figure to 3s. 6d. or more a year, so that they may receive "The Christian Pacifist" month by month.

During the autumn international "crisis," many felt the lack of guidance from pacifist headquarters, but not those who regularly read what used to be called "Reconciliation," the new series of which is called "The Christian Pacifist." There will, however, be "guidance" on specific issues for Methodist pacifists. When it is impossible to give this through "The Christian Pacifist," an effort will be made, in an emergency, to send a message directly to all our members. Such action would do much to hold our Fellowship together, and particularly to encourage members in remote places where there is no organised group.

THE METHODIST CHURCH AND PACIFISM

1. The attitude of the Methodist Church to Peace and War is defined in the official Declaration adopted by the Methodist Conference in 1933. Pacifists will interpret most of this splendid Declaration as a pacifist statement, and may find it difficult to understand how many of their fellow-Methodists can look at it otherwise. Here are the opening sentences:—

"War is contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of our Lord.

"Our Lord met evil with good, hate with love, and injury with persistent readiness to forgive. He faced the world with unflinching and unyielding goodness. By example and precept He taught men to love their enemies. Those who wronged Him even unto death He forgave . . . He called us to follow His way of life, and to be perfect as our Heavenly Father is perfect. Nothing can take away this supreme impression of the spirit and teaching of our Lord.

"We believe that His teaching and example were intended to apply not only to individual relations, but to the social and corporate

affairs of men, and to the intercourse of nations."

The Declaration goes on to recognise the existence of divergent judgments in regard to the vital question of actual participation in war:—

"It is in regard to individual participation in war that the application of the spirit and teaching of Christ may be most severely tested.

"Should war come we realise that a grave decision will be demanded of the Christian. There will be those, sincere lovers of their country, whose inward conviction and loyalty to Christ compel them to oppose war in all circumstances. With equal sincerity and under a like inward constraint, others will feel the necessity of giving effect to obligations, commitments and loyalties of a national or international character which they deem binding on the body politic, and on themselves within it. The Methodist Church would recognise that, in present circumstances, both decisions may express true loyalty to personal spiritual conviction, and an earnest endeavour to do the will of God and serve the highest interests of mankind. In view of this recognition, the Methodist Church will uphold

liberty of conscience and offer unceasing ministries to all her sons and daughters, in whichever direction loyalty to inward conviction may carry them."

Full liberty of conscience is, therefore, guaranteed within the Methodist Church. But more than this—an even more valuable freedom is assured us, "liberty of prophesying," provided always that the speaker speaks the truth in love.

2. The Conference of 1936 appointed a group of ministers and laity to give effect to the following resolution:—"The Conference, deeply concerned that the Church should seek to discern clearly the mind of Christ on the issues of Peace and War, appoints a group of ministers and laymen to examine in fellowship those aspects of the subject concerning which united judgment has not yet been recorded by the Conference and to report to the Conference of 1937."

On the question of individual participation in war, the members were unable to record agreement. They were unanimous, however, in the belief that a true service could be rendered to the Church by the presentation of reasoned Statements expressing in a non-controversial way the grounds on which some members of the group accepted the pacifist and some the non-pacifist conclusion. This course was taken, and the Conference referred the two Statements to the thoughtful consideration of our people as an aid to judgment on the grave personal issue involved.

The composition of this Special Committee was of a specially interesting kind—it was made up half of active pacifists and half of known non-pacifists. The two groups found that they were able to live together in Christian and Methodist fellowship. All agreed there should be complete liberty of conscience in the Church. Further, it was felt to be wrong that members of the Church should shirk this grave issue, or try to evade coming to a judgment upon it. Hence the two Statements which were to provide a basis of discussion up and down Methodism. Henry Carter signed the Statement on behalf of those members of the Committee who accepted the pacifist position. It began as follows:—

"Christian pacifism is a renunciation, an affirmation, and a way of life. It is a renunciation of the war-spirit and the war-method as contrary to the mind of Christ; it is an

affirmation that the method of God in dealing with evil is that of the Cross; it is a way of life in which love, as the constructive principle in the Christian experience, becomes creative of fellowship between persons and between communities. All this, we believe, is not only consistent with the Christian Faith, but is central to our understanding of it."

3. The Methodist Peace Fellowship is allowed by Conference to use the name "Methodist" in its title, and holds its Covenant Services and Meetings in Methodist churches. It is true that instances have occurred of permission being refused by Trustees, but in these cases it would appear that the Trustees concerned have misunderstood the position. The following extract from a letter from Mr. Carter to a member of the M.P.F. who had raised the point makes the position clear:—

"A question has come before us with regard to the meeting of a branch of the Methodist Peace Fellowship on Methodist premises, and I have been asked whether (a) it is usual for branches of the Methodist Peace Fellowship to meet on Methodist premises, and (b) whether it is within the right of Trustees to forbid such meetings.

"With regard to (a): The custom is for Methodist Peace Fellowship branches to meet on Methodist premises just as other organisations of Methodists are accustomed to do.

"With regard to (b): It should be remembered that the Superintendent Minister is the final authority within the Circuit. I assume that the Superintendent Minister and the body of Trustees would take into reckoning the fact that the Methodist Conference has permitted the use of the term 'Methodist' in relation to the Methodist Peace Fellowship; and further, that a Statement of the Christian pacifist case, representative of the position of the Methodist Peace Fellowship has been sent down to the Methodist people by the Conference, together with a corresponding Statement from the non-pacifist side, so that both Statements should be submitted to the thoughtful consideration of the Methodist people. It would be an unusual procedure to forbid the holding of a meeting of Methodists on Methodist premises to consider the substance of one or more Statements which the Conference itself had sent down to the Church."

REFUGEES FROM GERMANY

MORE than one important issue is involved in aiding refugees from Germany.

First, stands the plain Christian duty of succouring neighbours in need. Not less than threequarters of a million men, women and children are Stateless in Germany to-day; "Stateless" means deprived of nationality, and therefore of citizens' rights. Their offence in the eye of the Nazi régime is that they are "full" or "part" Jews, and—in the explicit terms of the Nazi Party Programme—"no Jew may be a member of the nation." Humiliated in a hundred ways, despoiled of possessions, in constant peril of arrest, they implore the help of the peoples of the freer countries.

Secondly, an unforeseen opportunity of reconciliation between Christian and Jew confronts and challenges us. The student of history knows how often Jewish communities dwelt in terror because of the fierce enmity of their "Christian" enemies. What Hitler does to-day, and in so doing evokes the condemnation of the world's conscience, has been attempted repeatedly in the cities and countries of Europe during the Christian era. Read Louis Golding's recent book, *The Jewish Problem* (a Penguin "Special"), and the sorrowful picture will face you. I long to see the healing of this strife between church and synagogue, and am thankful beyond words to be able in this hour to share in this work of reconciliation.

Thirdly, it is possible, by neighbourly words and deeds, to aid the true Germany, the Germany of To-morrow. I testify with knowledge that many true-hearted Germans reject in their hearts the persecution of the Jews, as they visibly reject the attempt of the State to muzzle the Christian Church. The spiritual resources of Christian Germany are not exhausted. I believe they are inexhaustible. The acceptance of suffering for truth's sake is still the road to truth's victory. Brotherhood with Christians and Jews in peril or exile is now our privilege and duty.

Two practical suggestions: (1) Contributions for the Refugee Fund (personal gifts or collections) should be sent to me at 1, Central Buildings, London, S.W.1; they will be acknowledged in the *Methodist Recorder*, and included in the Methodist contribution to the Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and Central Europe; (2) concerning hospitality or other help

for individual refugees you would find useful a leaflet entitled "The Problem of German Refugees in Britain," to be obtained from the same address.

HENRY CARTER.

CHRISTIAN PEACE-BUILDING BY PERSONAL CONTACTS

THE Methodist Conference meeting at Hull in 1938 passed unanimously the following resolution:—

"The Conference reaffirms its declaration that war is contrary to the spirit, teaching and purpose of our Lord. Face to face with the peril that, once again, war may spread throughout the world, the Conference urges every Methodist, who possibly can do so, to try to get into touch by letter or otherwise with a citizen of another country, and to offer, in Christ's name, to think, pray, and work together for goodwill and peace, and thus help to build up a peace-resolve among the peoples of the earth."

In moving the resolution, Mr. Carter said, "If there were Methodists who, whilst willing to take this step, did not know a citizen of another country, he was able to say that his own Department of Social Welfare, the Methodist Missionary Society and the Young Methodism Department, with their wide and various contacts, would be glad jointly to place themselves at the service of the whole Church for this purpose."

Countless contacts must have been made as a result of this resolution, for immediately before the vote was taken, the Rev. W. Lansdell Wardle, had said that each member should realise that, if he held up his hand, he was pledging himself to carry out what was embodied in the resolution.

In addition, many have taken advantage of Mr. Carter's offer and asked the Social Welfare Department to put them in touch with Christians abroad. So far, over 400 English Methodists have been linked up with overseas Christians in this way.

Of course, there are difficulties. At present it is, alas! practically impossible to make such contacts with Christians in the totalitarian States owing to the great peril in which it might bring them—so Germany, Italy and Russia are ruled out. But contacts have been made with Christians in no less than thirty countries, including Estonian Lutherans, Albanian Greek Orthodox, and with the little Methodist communities in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria, Poland and Spain.

Though it is impossible to organise large-scale correspondence with Christians in Germany, the Social Welfare Department has been able to initiate some pieces of Christian fellowship with our German friends. Six Sunday Schools were put in touch with six Methodist Sunday Schools in Berlin with a view to an exchange of Christmas cards and greetings, and the students of an English theological college linked up with students in the German Methodist Seminary at Frankfurt-on-Main.

Correspondents are asked to send with their letters copies of the Conference resolution on "Christian Peace Building by Personal Contacts" as a kind of introduction, and not to raise political questions of a controversial character, but rather to write as fellow-members of the one undivided Church of Jesus Christ. Here is a way by which the great ecumenical movement can be made real in the lives of hundreds of individual members of the Church.

SECRETARY'S NOTES

New Enrolments. The following were reported at the Executive Committee on December 19th: Lay members, 57: Wallington (18), Pitshanger,

Ealing (4), Richmond College (7), Willoughby Road (17), Cambridge (8), East End Mission (2), Whitehaven (1); Ministers (4), Revs. R. Harvey Field, Joseph Riach, J. B. Chapman, G. H. Findlay. Total membership: Lay members 2,266, Ministers 769—Total 3,035.

Annual Re-Dedication Service. It is intended to hold the usual Rally and Service at Wesley's Chapel in a few weeks' time. The date provisionally fixed is Saturday, March 25th. There will be a Meeting of Secretaries and representatives of Groups in the afternoon, followed by a Tea-Table Conference and the Re-Dedication Service. Full details will be given in the March issue.

A.R.P. and the National Register. It was considered advisable, a month or two ago, to send out a communication on these matters to our members. The Executive is keenly aware of their vital importance. They are issues, however, which are being discussed at length in the main articles appearing in *The Christian Pacifist*. We feel, therefore, that abundant material and advice towards forming a right personal judgment is provided from time to time in this way.

Clearing Away a Misunderstanding. It is felt that a misunderstanding has arisen in some quarters regarding the Executive's Resolution giving permission for an Ambulance Unit to be formed.

But the resolution makes it clear that (1) the Executive did not pass any judgment upon the principle involved in the formation of such a Unit, (2) permission was only given to this particular Group to try an experiment favoured by many of its members. It is interesting to know that the Group have now decided to take voluntary first-aid training (those who so desire) but to go no further in the organisation of a Unit.

LESLIE KEEBLE.

THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DEAR JOHN,

You want to know, I understand, what I think about the voluntary National Service Register which the Government has decided to set up. What am I going to do about it?

I think it is going to be a glorious opportunity for us to declare our Christian Pacifist Faith. Immediately I heard of the decision to call for such a register, I thought of some words in the Methodist Conference Declaration on Peace and War, 1933: "It behoves the Christian to

examine the commitments of his country, the obligations entered into in his name and in his behalf, and the actions of government in the sphere of international relations. He must define his attitude thereto . . ."

So my mind is clear, and my decision made. When my response is asked for, I shall reply:

I am a Methodist minister, engaged full time in a work which I wholeheartedly believe to be of national importance. I am also, by conviction, a Christian pacifist, and, as such, hold that war in all its forms is fundamentally wrong. I can, therefore, in no shape or form participate in military service.

I take it all our Christian pacifist brethren will be able to make the second part of the declaration. Perhaps not all will agree to the following, but I personally shall have to make it:—

If, however, the call should come to render service to human need or suffering in a voluntary capacity, apart from military control, I should, if the way were open to me, feel it my duty to accept it.

You will see, therefore, that I believe we owe it to the country and the Government, and still more to our Christian Pacifist Faith and Conviction, to declare our position definitely.

Yours,

E. C. URWIN.

TO THE NON-READER OF THE "CHRISTIAN PACIFIST."

We hope the appetite of those members of the M.P.F. who receive a reprint of this Bulletin will be so whetted that they will want to become regular subscribers to *The Christian Pacifist*. The annual subscription is a minimum of 3/6 for a personal copy, or not less than 6d. each for a group of seven members receiving one copy between them. Any money over these minimum amounts will help M.P.F. Headquarters in its work of developing the Movement. All subscriptions and enquiries should be sent to M.P.F., Room 151a, 1 Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1.

Remember that *The Christian Pacifist* is the organ of all the Christian Pacifist Groups, and that every issue contains M.P.F. notes contributed by our Secretary. You can't afford to be without it. Our aim is "Every member of M.P.F. a regular reader of *The Christian Pacifist*, and a Christian propagandist for Peace."

FOR THE CASTING OUT OF FEAR

THE Council of Christian Pacifist Groups is inaugurating a great movement by which it hopes to obtain the support of some 5,000 ministers and clergy to a declaration in favour of the renunciation of war through the casting out of fear by the love that belongs to God. They are convinced that there are many thousands of ministers of religion who at present are connected with no pacifist organisation but who are distressed in their very souls at the general deterioration of international politics and the implicit acceptance of pagan conceptions.

They are, therefore, seeking to obtain the names of all ministers and clergy, whether at present connected with any pacifist group or not, who are willing to give their support to the following declaration:—

"In face of all the evil and fear in the present international situation, we are led to declare our conviction that peace cannot be won by armament and military victory but only through sympathy and understanding, mutual trust and right dealing between the nations. Renewing our faith in God, we therefore appeal to our fellow Christians to unite with us in utterly renouncing war, in calling for the opening of the earth's resources to satisfy the needs of all peoples, and in proclaiming, in the spirit of the Prince of Peace and within both Church and State, the message of the Cross."

It is suggested that this declaration should, if possible, be circulated to the ministers of all denominations through the agency of the various organisations associated in the Christian Pacifist Groups and that, in addition, local pacifists should call upon the ministers of their own area to find out whether their support can be obtained. It is fairly certain that, unless such a personal canvass can be carried through, ministers, who are not only usually very busy but are also not entirely forgetful people, may fail to subscribe their names, even though the declaration has their support.

A Message to Leaders and Led

When the declaration is as fully signed as possible, it will then be issued to the press and copies will be printed with a view to its being posted in every church where this can be arranged. Something similar to Martin Luther's nailing of his ninety-five theses to the church door in Wittenberg is really what we would long to see. We feel confident that the knowledge

that many thousands of ministers were willing to give their support to such a declaration would not only have very considerable influence on authorities in Church and State but would also greatly hearten those isolated pacifist ministers whose fidelity to pacifist ideas is often regarded by their own congregations as rather peculiar.

It is hoped to bring the declaration to the notice of all religious leaders and perhaps even to wait in deputation upon them. Even if the religious leaders are hesitant to consider this matter, it at least may be brought before the minds of the rank and file of Christian people everywhere.

It will be seen that the declaration is an attempt made in all humility by Christian ministers to get their brethren to consider what the message of the Cross means in terms of international politics. It is, therefore, suggested that the list of signatures should be closed by the last Sunday in March, so that a message may be issued on Palm Sunday in preparation for Holy Week and Good Friday.

Kingsway Hall Meeting on February 27th

As part of this movement, a great public meeting is being called at the Kingsway Hall, London, on Monday, February 27th, when Canon Raven and Dr. Soper will be among the speakers. This meeting will take place at 7.30 p.m., tickets at 2s. 6d. and 1s. being obtainable from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, from which office posters and other literature bearing upon the meeting will also be gladly forwarded.

Copies of the declaration can also be obtained from the same office and we can imagine few more useful pieces of service that could at this time be carried out than the resolve by pacifists to see that the declaration was brought to the notice of all ministers in their neighbourhood, so that they might at least obtain the views of clergy and ministers upon the subject.

Great things were done in the days of the Peace Ballot by such canvassing; great things are also being done through the National Petition for a new Peace Conference. What we hope is that, in the more limited area of the Christian Church, a corresponding task be carried through by the enthusiasm and devotion of our friends and a declaration issued which may have far-reaching effects upon the future witness of Christendom.

JUSTICE AND LOVE

HAROLD THOMAS

THE debate between the Christian pacifist and the Christian non-pacifist has for some time taken the form of a discussion of the place which justice takes in our world-view. To the non-pacifist Christian the order of justice is a stage in human development which must be reached before the higher order of love can be approached. Until the nations have learnt to do justly in their dealings with one another, the policy of love cannot be counted as practical international politics. The order is "first justice, then love," or "first law, then grace."

The Christian pacifist has not been slow to point out the difficulties in this argument. It ignores our Lord's word in the first century, "Love your enemies"—politics at that date were to be politics of grace. It also involves us in very practical difficulties, for the attempt to establish the reign of law is threatening the very existence of the nations, both law-abiding or otherwise. Before the beginnings of international law, a quarrel between two nations might be a small domestic matter. The acceptance of an international code of justice means that every breach of the law becomes potentially an occasion for world war. The more perfectly the agreement to apply sanctions to the wrong-doer is applied, the more widespread becomes the area affected by the quarrel. "Law" which was produced to secure justice and to end war has only made the plight of humanity the worse. If a nation is ready to fulfil its covenant obligations for collective security it is not free totally to disarm: and the breakdown of that system has led to the greatest "arms race" of history, amongst nations which declare that they are only seeking justice and peace.

The Wages of Justice

There is a close parallel between this recent world-community experience and the struggles of the individual for righteousness as revealed in the writings of Paul, especially in Romans vii., 7-24. Paul began with a knowledge of his sin and failure and struggled to rise to a life which was just and righteous. As a standard there was the "law which was holy and the commandment holy and just and good" (vii., 12). But far from being helped by this, he was

rendered more hopeless by its condemnation of his sin (vii., 9f). The psychology of his struggle is laid bare in verses 15-23. Only by the action of love is he lifted out of his hopeless, despairing plight. Victory is given to him, a sinful, unjust person, while yet an enemy—by the royal gift of the grace of Jesus Christ (vii., 24).

There are those who count Paul's experience as abnormal and who would say that less sensitive natures do not worry so much about their sins or need so great a salvation. Our answer that Paul's is the truest and deepest analysis of human experience that we have, is based on the simple scientific evidence of the facts of world-life to-day. Culture is proved to be not enough to save the world: self-salvation has failed and led to greater distress: with China losses approaching the hundred million, do we not literally cry out "Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?"

One Law for Men and Nations

Others question the validity of all arguments "by analogy." But are not both individual and community in the hands of the One God and dealt with in the same way by the Same Redeemer? In the Gospels our Lord has only one set of principles for nation and for individual, one God and Father deals with both in love which is righteous, holy and redeeming throughout. Faith that the nations can enjoy a salvation parallel to that which Paul knew is not faith in an argument by analogy, but faith in God Who is unchanging in His workings of love as revealed in the life and death of Jesus Christ.

Paul's argument from experience therefore supports the Christian pacifist's affirmation that nations have not to evolve through justice to love, but are called now to an order of love in which justice is both realised and surpassed. In God's world only God's way of life can succeed. To attempt to secure justice and to punish the unjust can only ruin the world, for this is God's world and that is not His Nature or way of life in dealing with us. To seek now the kingdom of God which is the way of love in Jesus Christ, is to have anything of good there is in "justice" added to us.

SELECTED WRITINGS OF WILLIAM LAW*

ERIC HAYMAN

Stephen Hobhouse has already published several sidelines of study during his fourteen years' work upon the writings of William Law, who so greatly influenced the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. In this large volume, though he may modestly class parts of it as "a fragmentary study" or "a basis for further investigation," he has brought his subject to life and gives the non-expert reader, as well as the student of mysticism, a fascinating picture of a clear and imperious mind—a man who knows himself and knows the springs of his own life.

One begins with admiration of the way the work is done. The book is beautifully arranged. The main section is occupied with verbatim extracts from most of Law's later writings. These are not cluttered with footnotes but have a clear and full commentary section of their own. This commentary shows the editor's wide comparative reading and leads one to trust him in the twenty-four short studies of special aspects of Law's theology and of its sources in Boehme and others.

He shows William Law as developing a profoundly Christian and strangely "modern" view of the reconciling life and death of Christ. He will hear nothing of satisfaction theories, or of that "paltry logic" which conceives God as a righteousness or justice separable from, or even competing with, His love. "What is love in God but His will to all goodness," asks Law. And again he says "To satisfy righteousness means neither more nor less than to fulfil it."

Another major interest, both of the writer and his editor, lies in Law's view of the essential nature of man. The book requires closer study here than any review can offer. Those who rest in an easy-going Pelagianism are confounded by a stern realisation of the darkness of which the human will is capable. It is possible for man to "extinguish the instinct of goodness in his soul which alone can distinguish good from evil." "Repentance is but a kind of table talk till we see so much of the deformity of our own inward nature as to be in some degree frightened and terrified at the sight of it." But **Edited with notes and twenty-four studies in the Mystical Theology of William Law and Jacob Boehme. By Stephen Hobhouse, M.A. pp. xvi and 395. London. The C.W. Daniel Co. Ltd. 8/6.*

Law is less concerned with a doctrine of fallen human nature than with the difficult thought of a cosmic rebellion in nature, perhaps pre-human and for all we know, pre-mundane. He uses this thought, which has been developed by modern philosophers, to explain the sense which he shares with Paul and with many mediaeval mystics. Perhaps the evil in human nature is, after all, not separable from evil in the world at large. "The sin of the individual is not merely an ugly disturbance of an insignificant portion of the universe: it is a tremendous fact which profoundly shakes the whole creation." This suggestion of the editor is supported by much of his author's thought.

But Law has no comfort for those who are held in an insoluble dualism. He develops, more fully than some of the Quaker writers by whom he was deeply influenced, a vital conception of the light of God within the human soul. "Poor sinner, consider the treasure thou hast within thee; the Saviour of the world, the eternal Word of God lies hid in thee, as a spark of the divine nature which is to overcome sin and death and hell within thee, and generate the life of Heaven again in thy soul. Turn to thy heart, and thy heart will find its Saviour, its God within itself." Not even Howgill's famous "lamentation for the scattered tribes" touches the clearness and precision of this passage. Law may with justice protest that his doctrine of the inward light avoids those facile errors of a modern humanism. The editor notes that "he definitely, though regretfully, rejected universalism," but writes at last "As for the purification of all human nature either in this world or in some after ages, I fully believe it." The dualism of good and evil—the "two worlds in eternity" are "not possible to be ever known to be two, but by such creatures as have in their own natures by their own self-motion separated the fire of eternal nature from its eternal light . . ."

The thought develops naturally into Law's doctrine of the Wrath of God. It is suggested that Law "will in the future be recognised as having laid the foundation of a Christian metaphysic such as will add confirmation to the pacifist interpretation of the Gospel . . . without sacrificing a due recognition of the harsh reality of sin." He quotes from Boehme passages which

suggest the contrasts from which harmony is formed. "If life in its first root, was not this depth of strife, this strength of hunger and sensibility of want, the fulness of heavenly joy could not be manifested in it." Boehme is sometimes in danger of regarding these contrasts as contradictions. Law avoids this fault. But the editor suggests that there must be "a distinction in thought between God as personality—as loving Will ever seeking the good of each one of his creatures—and God as the inexorable law of consequence." He suggests that this distinction may give "an intellectual support to our pacifist faith in a loving instead of a violent response to the sin or aggression of every type of offender."

There seems an inescapable bitterness in this view. Emerson speaks of "the universal necessity by which the whole of an evil action appears sooner or later whenever a part of it appears." But this law of consequence does not need mankind to operate it. God's will is solely that it should be tempered and used in such a way as to educate and to heal. Though it be hard to accept, the editor asserts his conviction that the understanding of this truth is "to-day more than ever an absolutely vital need in our social and international life."

This book is of far wider value than any immediate application to pacifism. Those who will take the needed trouble to make closer acquaintance with one who is probably linked in our minds only with his "Serious Call to a devout and holy life" will be well rewarded. He can tell us much of that life. He can teach us to pray. He can help us both to will and to love the Eternal Goodness.

The following brief extracts from Law's writings are quoted from the earlier part of the book under review:—

Charity can have no excess till it contradicts that love which we are to have in Heaven, till it is more than that which would lay down its life for an enemy, till it exceeds that which the first Christians practised, when they had all things in common . . . till it is loving our poor brethren more than Christ has loved us: till it goes beyond the command of loving our neighbour as we love ourselves: till it forgets that our own life is to be preserved.

But thou wilt perhaps say, "If all self-love is to be renounced, then all love of neighbour is renounced along with it, because the command-

ment is only to love our neighbours as ourselves." . . . The answer here is easy, and yet no quarter given to self-love . . . God alone is to be loved for Himself, and all other beings only in Him and for Him . . . But what is loving any creature only in and for God? It is when we love it only as it is God's work, image and delight; when we love it merely as it is God's and belongs to Him; this is loving it in God . . . The creature is not in God, is a stranger to Him, has lost the life of God in itself whenever its love does not thus begin and end in God.

. . . Love is my bait; you must be caught by it; it will put its hook into your heart and force you to know that of all strong things nothing is so strong, so irresistible, as divine love. It brought forth all the creation; it kindles all the life of Heaven; it is the song of all the angels of God. It has redeemed all the world; it seeks for every sinner upon earth; it embraces all the enemies of God . . . Nothing changes death into life, earth into Heaven, men into angels but love alone . . . Love has no more of pride than light has of darkness; it stands and bears all its fruits from a depth and root of humility. Love is of no sect or party; it neither knows nor admits of any bounds . . . It lives in the liberty . . . of Heaven. It believes in one holy, catholic God, the God of all spirits . . . it is meek, patient, well-wishing and long-suffering over all the evil that is in nature and creature . . . Love is quite pure; it has no by-ends . . . it has but one will, and that is to give itself into everything, and overcome all evil with good. Lastly, love is the Christ of God . . .

When God said, "Let there be Light" and there was Light, no change happened to eternal Light itself, nor did any light then begin to be; but the darkness of this world then only began to receive a power or operation upon it which it had not before; or eternity then began to open some resemblance of its own glory in the dark elements and shadows of time, and thus it is that I assert the priority and glory of light, and put all darkness under its feet, as impossible to be anything else but its footstool.

This is the unalterable difference between Christ's teaching and the teaching of those who only publish the glad tidings of Him. They are not the bridegroom, and therefore have not the bridegroom's voice . . .

AN ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY. Hobhouse pp. 223-238 contains a vigorous and strangely modern pacifist tract. The whole should be studied without quotation.

OTHER BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY AND THE GOSPELS. C. H. Dodd. Nisbet. 7s. 6d.

This book is as important as anything which comes from the pen of its well-known author. We are coming to regard Dr. Dodd's contributions as being the outstanding event in the Christian theology of this generation. The fact that he takes the pacifist position is interesting. It is sufficient answer to those who would contend that pacifism is an unfair interpretation of the New Testament.

ENGLAND: BEFORE AND AFTER WESLEY. J. Wesley Bready. Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

The plan of the book is comprehensive of a whole period in our history. It is not merely the life of Wesley, "it is the history of an epochal movement, of which Wesley was the master figure." A large part is given to a masterly survey of the social, political, economic and religious conditions prior to the Evangelical Revival. The author is severe, but not too severe, for it is difficult to use temperate language in describing the age following the Restoration and lasting for more than 100 years—its disregard for all morality, its corruption in politics, its ruthlessness in economics, and both in its ruthlessness in economics, and, both in Church and State, an almost complete absence

Never was the world from earliest Christian times more in need of spiritual revival. Just a few here and there kept the faith, amongst them notably George Whitefield and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. But a spiritual genius of supreme power was required if the time was to be redeemed—and if indeed the world was to be saved. And, as the book makes clear, it was the world that was saved, and not merely a few thousand individual souls. "The current modern notion that the Evangelical Revival was ridiculously individualistic and morbidly "other-worldly" is completely false. Human fellowship, co-operation and service were at its heart, and "pulsed through all its life." The story of Wesley is the story of an aggressive crusade for righteousness. The spiritual energy which he generated lasted for at least 70 years after his death and is the root cause of the abolition of slavery, the cleansing of the prisons, the alleviation of industrial conditions, the universalising of education, and the missionary enterprise.

This book has a special significance for to-day—it contains a message of hope. While in many respects the progress of civilisation in these intervening years has not been lost, yet in some important spheres, mainly political and religious, there is a strong resemblance between the year 1738 (the year Wesley began his life work) and 1938. In 1738 it must have seemed that the shape of affairs admitted of little hope for the common people in the world. But one man dared to hope and against all odds dared to preach a new righteousness. In 1938 the state of affairs admitted of just as little hope, as it seemed to many. But, like Wesley, we may hope, if only we will dare. L.A.

WHAT THINK YE? E. L. Allen, Ph.D. James Clark. 112 pp. 2s. 6d.

Part of this book has already appeared in the pages of *Reconciliation*. Those who remember the part will want to read the whole. It is a series of seven studies in the most profound problems of life, treated with searching honesty of mind and with the simplicity that belongs to clear thinking. The questions raised are: What Think Ye of Man? God? Christ? The Cross? Pain? Death? Immortality? Each chapter has something striking and original to say. The many quotations which the book contains are from quite unusual sources.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY. Maurice Bruce. Nelson & Sons. 2/.

The real importance of this book is not the views it expresses about British foreign policy (serious-thinking Christian people will mark in those views the complete absence of any ethical standard) but in the historical information it provides. From the time of Henry VII (1485) to the present day that foreign policy is succinctly and clearly described, and all in the course of 150 pages. And what is the foreign policy thus described? It is one of self-interest, in 1485 and equally in 1939. Does it differ from that of other nations? Not noticeably! Does it provide any hope of establishing lasting peace? Not at all! In earlier times the policy has been called that of playing off one European Power against another. Later it has been called "the balance of power." After the Great War it was called aiming at Collective Security. To-day under Mr. Neville Chamberlain it is called "appeasement." But all the way through our history this differently-named policy is the

same—what we have we hold. If there is any variant to be found it is in certain almost accidental periods of aggression as a result of which we are constrained to hold rather more than we did before. Our readers will remember a question that recurs in meetings—what are we to do in the circumstances? This book makes clear that circumstances are linked up through the ages, that you cannot divide history into chunks, and that unless something new is done (and that something Christian) no change will be brought about in world-politics. The history which this book so well provides in almost

tabloid form ought to be known amongst us. It ought to be said that this book is one of a new series of Discussion Books issued by Nelson & Sons "designed for all intelligent citizens." They contain a good bibliography but their usefulness would be increased by the provision of study-questions for each chapter. L.A.

Theodora Wilson Wilson's New Book

We regret that in the review of "Through the Bible" in our last month's issue the name of the publishers and the price were not quoted. These are: Collins. 7/6.

CORRESPONDENCE

A PACIFIST AIR WARDEN AND A.R.P.

The first thought which occurred to me on reading the above article was, "Why does the writer call himself a pacifist?" To my mind, unless pacifists are absolutely uncompromising in their refusal to have anything to do with preparations for war, they are betraying the faith which they profess to hold. The argument that we must do all that we can to protect life is a specious one and falls to the ground when we reflect that to protect the lives of our own children in wartime means to take the lives of others. Mr. Thomas thinks that this is regrettable! So, I have no doubt, does Mr. Duff Cooper.

The real argument against participation in A.R.P. or National Service is not that we should thereby be accepting war as inevitable, but that we should be actively co-operating to make it more probable. Does Mr. Thomas doubt that, if our defence services, including A.R.P., had been adequate in September, we should now be engaged in hostilities?

The question of how we shall appear to other people by refusing to co-operate is surely beside the point, and does not concern us. The people who are putting themselves (and others) in a false position are those who label themselves pacifists, but who say, in effect, to the Government: "We will do what we can to support you in your preparations for war, provided that we are not asked to fight." Is this honest?

MARCELLE SUGDEN.

40, Nimrod Road, London, S.W.16.

As an "out-and-out" Christian pacifist, I was amazed to read an article by a pacifist air warden.

Christianity makes too high moral demands

to permit him to become a soldier, yet here is a pacifist writing who is as essential a cog in the military machine (although at present voluntary) as the airman who mutilates babies in the final action, and the soldier who bayonets a possible fellow Christian, all for the benefit of a group of financiers who need armies, navies, and air forces to retain or conquer peoples to market their surplus goods. Does your correspondent fully realise his commitments? . . .

Our friend the air warden is helping the very thing he fears, as he is a part of the whole diabolical machine, and seems anxious to get in others to help perfect this new scientific life extinguisher. I am sorry to read his false analogy about keeping a fire extinguisher in your house. War is not and never was an accident, it is planned . . .

CECIL H. COX.

37, Kingswood Chase,
Leigh-on-Sea.

There are certain psychological aspects of A.R.P. to which Mr. Thomas, in the current issue of *The Christian Pacifist*, does not, I feel, give due consideration. It does not require a very high degree of astuteness to realise their existence, and, in my opinion, the Government is fully aware of them and is taking full advantage of them. These, I think, are the most important:—

(1) The realisation by the public that some steps are being taken (however inadequate) to provide protection against air-raids does produce a feeling of security (however unjustified). To my mind, this is the only reason for the large-scale distribution of respirators, even to West-coast towns, when the danger from gas attacks is recognised to be greatly exaggerated. Also, why, if not for this reason, has the Government produced so many schemes for protecting

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST

The purpose of THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST is to develop a constructive policy expressive of Christian principle and to keep peace workers in Churches, Colleges and the various Christian Pacifist Fellowships in touch with each other

To the Editor,
THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST
17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1

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the civil population, and yet has not undertaken to provide the most obvious and only effective protection against high-explosive bombs, namely, underground shelters?

(2) A.R.P. are a step, I think, to general mobilisation, even if this should come only in case of war. They are habituating the public to the idea of national service and military discipline, and thus making it prepared, psychologically, for full conscription.

(3) By stressing the aspect of defence against enemy attack, A.R.P. are producing a wrong attitude to war, and encouraging the erroneous belief that the guilt is on the other side.

(4) It is perfectly obvious that A.R.P. do not make war inevitable; but they have a psychological effect which is nearly as harmful. By keeping before the mind of the public the horrors and brutality of war (a thing the B.B.C. news bulletins and the press have been doing for more than three years), they are hardening its moral conscience and producing an attitude of acceptance of war, a willingness to endure its horror and brutality . . .

(5) In modern war there are two fronts, the actual battle front (or fronts) and the civilian front; the latter is of very great importance. For it is essential to keep civilian morale at a high

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level in order to continue the war. A.R.P. tend to keep civilian morale high; for the less damage to life and property an enemy effects in an air raid the higher the spirits of the population and the greater its contempt for the attacker. (I think Spain and China give ample proof of this.) Hence, it seems to me that A.R.P. are an important and positive part of the Government's war policy.

What, then, is the pacifist to do? He must, I grant, do something to lessen the inevitable suffering caused by war. The only course, apparently, is either to join the Pacifist First-Aid Corps,* or, if this is impossible, to offer his services to Government A.R.P. workers on the strict understanding that he is not thereby officially enrolling himself in Government A.R.P. work or in any way associating himself with the Government's policy. The help he could give would be restricted, of course, by the small amount of training possible for a private individual or a Pacifist Corps to obtain. But at any rate training in first-aid would enable him to help in some way if war broke out, and would also make him a more useful member of the community in peace.

Yours faithfully,

W. GARFORTH.

*Now re-named "The Pacifist Service Corps"—Ed.

In reply to a "Pacifist Air Warden's" article in your New Year issue, may I state very briefly a few of my reasons for believing that participation in Air Raid Precautions is not consistent with our pacifist position.

On Christian grounds:

(a) The motive force behind A.R.P. is undeniably fear, which is entirely opposed to the Christian's faith in the supreme power of love.

(b) True Christianity has never sought protection against risks. Had Christ adopted a "safety first" policy surely there need have been no Calvary.

(c) The hope of Christianity lies in its appeal to youth to risk *all* and to live dangerously for a great cause.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

"THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST"

I hope this will be one of hundreds of letters congratulating you on the new venture. I was a little in doubt myself when I first heard about the change, but I feel now that it is for the better in every way.

In passing, I was amused to read the bit by the "pacifist" air warden. There are a good number of these agonised humanitarians about, and it is very hard to find a way of comforting them. They worry so, and are always so anxious to do some sort of "service" . . .

NORMAN GLASS.

33, Northmead Road, Liverpool, 19.

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE TO UNEMPLOYMENT

I was one of a crowd of shoppers thronging Oxford Street a few days before Christmas. The bitter afternoon was warmed by the glow of light from shop windows gay with gifts. Snow-flakes glittered as they fell.

Suddenly my attention was riveted to the busy crossing at Oxford Circus. Traffic had stopped and a crowd was gathering. A score of men were lying on their backs across the road. Non-violent methods in action—and successful, too! I pressed forward eagerly. The inevitable policeman was quite impotent; supremely indifferent to his orders, the men continued to lie there. It was obvious they had been trained. At first I told myself I would not have missed this for worlds.

Then I drew near enough to read the red lettering on the placard each prostrate man held on top of him: "The unemployed demand extra winter relief." I saw how poorly clad they were; how muddy the road was. The warm light of the shop windows was intercepted by the silent, wondering crowd. The snow fell icily through the gathering darkness. I saw the policeman stoop to lift one unresisting man by the shoulders.

An uncomfortable choking sensation obliged me to turn away. To be compelled to lie in the road in a pitiful endeavour to obtain the necessities of life! The sight of shop windows jarred. How irrelevant and futile now seemed their light-hearted display of unnecessary trifles. I hoped with all my heart the brave little demonstration would not be in vain.

MARJORIE EYRES.

CHILD LABOUR IN KENYA

A Kenya Government Committee recently reported on problems of child labour in the Colony. The Committee was appointed following protests in England against an Ordinance of April, 1938, legalising the contracting of child labour under penal sanctions at the age of ten years.

The Committee recommends that the minimum age for light labour be raised to 12 years; for "industrial undertakings" it be raised from 12 to 14 years; that children be removed completely from the operation of the penal sanctions of the labour code; that the labour inspectorate be increased and other reforms. This is all to the good, but 12 years is still far too young an age at which to allow children to be taken hundreds of miles from their homes to labour lines. The pay ranges from a penny-farthing to under threepence a day; there is no workmen's compensation except in the mining industry; no sickness benefit. If a child falls ill through its occupation, it is fed and is treated, but pay stops. Further, labour lines are oft-times places where sexual immorality is a problem and such a place is no atmosphere for a child of twelve.

We are self-appointed trustees for our African subjects. I do not think that this is a worthy discharge of our trusteeship. Surely protests are called for.

W. E. OWEN,

Archdeacon of Kavirondo, Kenya.

CORA HOTEL

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Proposed Summer School for Christian Pacifist Leaders

FOR about a fortnight from Whitsuntide this year—Whitsuntide falls on May 28th—a "Summer School" for peace workers and the leaders of Christian Pacifist Groups in various countries will be held in the Island of Fano, off Esbjerg, on the North Sea coast of Denmark. Something more than a conference is aimed at, and something smaller in size. The times require more intense study of principles as well as of policies, and there is need for those who bear responsibility to come together in close fellowship and to point one another to the sources of strength.

It is proposed to limit the number of courses to say, four in each week, so that all may attend all of them, and to ask that fairly serious work shall be done in connection with them. Reading will be prescribed and paper work not excluded. There will be full opportunities, of course, of close discussion and also of private consultation with capable teachers. There will be a place for music, and it is hoped that one or two groups will be able to show how the message of peace

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

MAURICE BRUCE

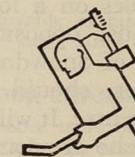
The enigma of British foreign policy to-day is best studied in relation to the past as well as the present and future. This able book explains why Britain has always failed to exert, in peace-time, the influence that has been hers in war. Isolation has always proved impossible—should this country decide on a policy of closer co-operation if peace is ultimately to be secured? Here is the answer.

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Richard Wilson, D.Litt., and A. J. Ratcliff, M.A.

and religion can be presented dramatically. The "School" will partake, also, of the character of a retreat, and we hope to have the help of those who can teach us to pray as well as to think and to work effectually.

Syllabuses and book suggestions will, it is hoped, soon be available for preparatory work. Already Dr. Siegmund-Schultze, Dr. Charles E. Raven, Miss Muriel Lester, Henri Roser, and Prof. G. H. C. MacGregor have expressed their hope of being present, and several other important peace leaders are being invited. As the number of places will necessarily be limited, it is desirable that early application should be made to the I.F.O.R. office, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, England.

UNIVERSAL DAY OF PRAYER FOR STUDENTS

The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland is an interdenominational fellowship of students who desire to understand the Christian faith and live the Christian life. It has been working in the colleges and universities of this country for almost fifty years and is affiliated to the World's Student Christian Federation, which embraces 22 different national movements, many of which, to-day, are suffering persecution.

The Movement asks all Christian Churches to participate in a day of prayer on February 19th, remembering especially the needs of students in this country and throughout the world.

CONCERNING THE FELLOWSHIP

Summer Conference

Last month we gave some necessary particulars about our *Summer Conference*. It will be held at the Normal College, Bangor, from Friday, August 4th, until the following Friday, August 11th, and the subject will be "Christian Pacifism."

The speakers are even now being booked up; of these the full list will be published later. What we want friends to do immediately is to book the date and decide to come to Bangor at least for this particular week.

Standing as it does on a lovely part of the Carnarvon coast, just opposite Anglesea and within a few miles of Snowdon and the Snowdon range, Bangor should afford a most wonderful holiday centre. It will be of very great assistance if those who are contemplating, however vaguely, coming to the Conference would without delay just drop us a postcard, stating the number of their party. If, for instance, we knew immediately that there was going to be a very big crowd at the Conference, we would obviously have to make special arrangements, and that very big crowd is exactly what we hope we shall have. F.o.R. Conferences have been, in time past, extremely large, in addition to being, as they always are, useful and carefree. With the growth of the Fellowship and the demands of the times, this Conference at Bangor in the first week of August ought to be a Conference which puts previous records utterly in the shade.

FIRST MEETING OF THE NEW F.o.R. COUNCIL

All through F.o.R. history the effective Council of Fellowship has been the total membership until last year a new Constitution was set up.

The Council used to be called at the Summer Conference; every member had a right to attend, but, of course, it was impossible to make the Summer Conference attendance really representative of the whole of the Fellowship, and, as the Fellowship grew, it became even less representative.

At the Worcester Conference two years ago it was resolved that General Committee should look at the whole question and try by means of a new Constitution to obtain a more representative Council. This, it is hoped, has been effected. Ample safeguards in the way of co-optation of people who have long served the Fellowship and of those not connected with any Branches have been made.

Individual members of the Fellowship who are not members of the Council are reminded that under the new Constitution:

"Personal attendance at any Council meeting is open to other members of the Fellowship, notifying in writing their wish to attend."

The main purpose of the new Constitution is to give to the Branch a full representation on the Council. The great majority of the Branches have welcomed this, and appointed their representatives, and the first meeting of the new Council will be held on Saturday, February 25th, 1939, beginning at 11 a.m., at the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street, W.1. Canon Raven will be in the chair. All delegates have already received a copy of the agenda and other information to which their careful attention is invited.

NEW BRANCHES

It would be of very great assistance if Christian Pacifists living in areas where at present there is no branch of the F.o.R. would communicate with the office so that they may be put in touch with other like-minded people living not too far away from themselves, with a view to considering the formation of a branch. In some quite small places invaluable work is being done and yet there are even large towns where, at present, little or nothing seems to be attempted for the forwarding of our work. We would remind those who are in sympathy with our position that the situation has so greatly changed in the last few months that the mere fact that there was perhaps lack of interest a year ago is no criterion for believing that, should an attempt be made now to call a meeting and to start a branch, similar indifference would be shown. Our branches are growing most encouragingly, both in number and in quality, but there is so much still to be done that each member should be ready to ask himself or herself whether some new opening may not be waiting to be made.

HOSPITALITY FOR COUNCIL

As stated in our January issue, the Fellowship is most anxious to arrange hospitality in or near London for those who are attending the Council meetings at the King's Weigh House, Thomas Street, Oxford Street, on Saturday, February 25th.

Such hospitality is only really concerned with those who have to come to London on the previous night, and therefore would include no more than offering delegates a meal on arrival on Friday evening, putting them up for the night, and bidding them farewell after breakfast on Saturday morning. Unfortunately, only about half-a-dozen people have yet intimated that they are willing to offer such hospitality and, as the demand for it will possibly be rather high, we do hope that all who can do so will notify this office at once. When writing, will they tell us whether it is more convenient for them to have a male or a female visitor, and whether they are willing to cater for vegetarians.

Those who can arrange hospitality for more than one person will doubtless consider this possibility.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

The experiment of holding Saturday Regional Conferences last year proved so successful that a very large number are being arranged for this year. The first was held in Salisbury on January 28th, but at the time of going to press details are not yet to hand.

Such Conferences have been arranged for February: the first is at Gloucester on February 4th, where the Conference will be opened by our General Secretary, the Rev. Leslie Artingstall. The second is arranged for February 11th at Canterbury. In each case, no particular subject for discussion has been tabled, as it is felt that such fixed subjects sometimes harness a Conference too stringently and the things really uppermost in people's minds are ruled out by the conditions of the agenda. It has been

decided, therefore, to give as much time as possible to discussion.

It is hoped that all members in the areas where these Conferences are being held will themselves notify such people as they think might be ready to attend the Conference and invite their presence, even if they are not members of the Fellowship, and that they will get in touch with the Secretaries at Gloucester and Canterbury, or with this office, and obtain full particulars from them.

EASTER YOUTH CONFERENCE

Details of the programme and arrangements for the Easter Youth Conference to be held this year will be found on another page. This Conference has now become an established event in the yearly life of the Fellowship. Usually about 70 young people meet, but at Canterbury there is ample accommodation for twice this number.

May we pass on a suggestion for an experiment that has been tried out with great success in another sphere: missionary work. Numbers of local churches have for years adopted a policy of sending two delegates to the Annual Missionary Conference at Swanwick. The young people have returned with a zeal for missionary work which has seldom diminished with the years. At the Youth Conference your young people will meet with other members of the F.o.R. and will make friendships, and discuss the deep problems of the pacifist faith. They will return with a wider vision of our work, which should most certainly result in increased devotion to the work of your local branch.

May we lay it upon all committees of branches to see that representatives of their group do go this year. If the delegates are not able to meet expenses fully themselves then the branches should regard it as a sound investment to help financially. The programme this year is excellent, and is designed to keep abreast of the changing situa-

tions with which we pacifists are faced, without at the same time, neglecting the deeper, eternal foundations of our faith.

THE NORTH LONDON COUNCIL NEW YEAR PARTY

Held on Saturday, January 14th, at Archway Central Hall, Highgate.

The party was a particularly happy one, about 150 people being present, a very large number of them refugees from Central Europe, and other International friends who came as our guests.

A spirit of gaiety prevailed, and the evening passed quickly; we were splendidly entertained by the Daisy Chapman String Quartet, the Verse-speaking Trio, and by two friends who came specially to sing to us; some of our guests also contributed items.

The Rev. David Mace, minister of the Church, was present for a short time and welcomed our guests in his and our name.

A thoroughly enjoyable evening quickly came to an end with "Sir Roger" and "Auld Lang Syne."

OUR CHAIRMAN

Canon Raven has once more been doing an amazingly valuable piece of work for the pacifist movement, not only by speaking at the series of public meetings in Devonshire, but by conducting, in the same county, four Ministers' Conferences. These were held at Barnstaple, Plymouth, Torquay and Exeter, the first two being arranged by E. C. Maddax, the energetic organiser of the P.P.U. in Devonshire, and the last two by the F.o.R. Canon Raven spoke at ten meetings between Thursday, January 5th and Tuesday, the 10th, inclusive; hardly a restful way of spending a hard-earned holiday.

THE PATHFINDER

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PEACE WORK IN THE CHURCHES

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE, Friends' House, London, N.W.1. Secretary: Karlin Capper-Johnson.

"If we go on turning ploughshares into swords, how can we expect a harvest of peace?" These thought-provoking words of the Quaker pacifist Member of Parliament, T. Edmund Harvey, form the text of the illustrated poster issued recently by the Friends' Peace Committee and the Northern Friends' Peace Board.

The activities of the Peace Committee during the past month have been mainly centred in thoughtful discussion and planning inspired by the Special London Yearly Meeting of Friends (held November 18th—20th) to consider the problem of the Quaker Peace Testimony in the modern world. The Yearly Meeting reaffirmed that "we utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons for any end." Now it remains for Friends throughout the country to get together in regional gatherings to consider, in more detail than is possible in a large meeting of nearly two thousand, specific peace questions, e.g., colonies, national service, significance of disarmament, importance of a pacifist plan, etc. The Peace Committee and Northern Friends' Peace Board are helping in the organising and arranging of such conferences.

At a pre-Yearly Meeting gathering of 70 Peace Correspondents from widely scattered Meetings, Stanley Farrar (Chairman of the N.F.P.B.) drew Friends' attention to the fact that their belief in liberty and refusal to persecute were inextricably bound up with their attitude to peace and democracy and opposition to Fascism. To Stanley Farrar's trilogy of peace, liberty and refusal to persecute, Bertram Pickard (from the Friends' Centre, Geneva) added the need for Friends to recognise their responsibility as individuals in the life of the community and the balance which should be maintained between liberty on the one hand and a sense of responsibility on the other. He felt that the Peace Movement would never receive public support until it admitted the duties as well as the rights of the citizen, and he cited the International Voluntary Service for Peace as one channel for the expression of such service.

The members of the Peace Committee have for some time felt deeply concerned about the wrongness and dangers to peace of anti-Semitism. A sub-committee has now been appointed to carry out research on this question and explore any possible avenues of reconciliation and co-operation with other bodies similarly concerned.

The Committee are greatly encouraged by the Rev. Henry Carter's acceptance of the Merritts Lecture Committee's invitation to give the Merritts Peace Lecture in May, 1939, on the subject: "Liberty and Authority in the Modern World."

New books added to the Peace Committee Library include:—

The Pledge of Peace, by J. Middleton Murry; *War Is Not Inevitable*, by various writers, based upon lectures given at the Geneva Institute of International Relations in Geneva; *The International Share-Out*, by Barbara Ward; *Love is the One Solution*, by Herbert Gray; *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, by James Parkes; *The Jew and His Neighbour*, by James Parkes; *Youth and Anti-Semitism*, by W. W. Simpson; *Very Foreign Affairs*, by John Scanlan; *All in a Maze*, by Rose Macaulay and Daniel George; *The Crisis and the Christian*, by Nathaniel Micklem (Crisis Booklet No. 1, Student Christian Movement Press, 1s.); *The Crisis and Democracy*, by J. Eric Fenn (Crisis Booklet No. 2); *Moral Rearmament*, by Sir Walter Moberly and Lord Kennet (Crisis booklet No. 3); *The Crisis and World Peace*, by Leyton Richards (Crisis booklet No. 4, S.C.M. Press, 1s.).

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

The annual list of members has been circulated along with the Treasurer's statement and Secretary's letter this month. If any member has not received his copy, the Secretary will be glad to supply him. Extra copies are also obtainable for propaganda. New groups at Lowestoft, Manchester, Morecambe and Westcliffe have been formed since the last notes were written. There is also a real hope that the strong pacifist sentiment among Welsh Baptists will find organized expression. Rev. D. Myrddin Davies, B.A., B.D. Gwar-yr-Allt, Lady Mary Road, Cardiff, will be glad to hear from Welsh Baptists.

The London Union has also formed its committee and got under way. The Secretary, Mr. C. W. Bales, 105 Parkway, N.W.1, (Gulliver 1078), will be glad to hear news of pacifist activity among London Baptists.

PACIFIST SERVICE CORPS

Address: 10 Abbey Gardens, N.W.8.

President: T. Edmund Harvey, Esq., M.P.

Vice-Presidents:

Dr. A. Maude Royden. Professor J. Ryle.

Chairman: Miss Enid Andrews.

Secretary: Mrs. E. Jackson.

We, who cannot, as pacifists, accept any form of combatant service, desire to work for peace through service to our fellowmen. We wish to equip ourselves for those emergencies that arise both in peace and war. Some of us may go far afield, wherever we may find a need, working with other organisations or as independent groups or individuals. Many of us can only serve in our own homes and in the intervals of other work, but we believe that opportunities for service will reveal themselves here, too, and that each kind of service can be a means of active peacemaking.

We do not join those schemes which are directed to a future war, as we wish to work for a present peace. We shall begin by forming groups of pacifists in various districts for training in first-aid under a St. John Ambulance instructor. We do not know exactly what our next work will be, we may be needed to help with refugees in camps, or in ways of which we do not yet know, but our first essential is good training. And if, after all our efforts, our work for peace should fail for the time being—even though it will triumph in the end—and there come yet other wars, we shall be able to help in the place which, as pacifists, we believe should be ours—the centre of danger and suffering.

If you are interested and would like further information, please write to the Secretary at the above address.

THE PEACE ARMY

Three members of the Peace Army left on December 26th for Prague, where two of them spent a week. The third has remained there, at her own expense. They report the most urgent need is to press our own Government to grant block temporary visas to large numbers of adults who have been ordered to leave the C.S.R. in a few weeks; otherwise, they will be deported to Germany. The Peace Army delegates beg pacifists to treat this matter as most serious and urgent, and ask them to write to their M.P.'s, peace societies and churches, and newspapers about the absolute necessity for finding a safe place for these people for some months until their permanent settlement can be arranged.

Another practical piece of work it is hoped to accomplish is to make arrangements for some of the Czechoslovakian embroidery to be purchased and exhibited in this country, and sold for the benefit of refugees.

THE DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

will be the preacher at the
King's Weigh House Church

Duke Street, W.

(one minute from Selfridge's)

on

Sunday, February 5th, at 11 a.m.

The Ven. Archdeacon HARTILL,
Monday, February 6th at 6.30 p.m.

PUBLIC MEETING

at

ARCHWAY CENTRAL HALL

(Opposite Highgate Tube Station)

on

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27th, at 8 p.m.

Speakers:

The Rt. Hon. GEO. LANSBURY, M.P.

J. Stevenson Rowntree

Chair: The Rev. David Mace

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FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation. A Fellowship Hour for communion with God and each other is being held at 17, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., from 6 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the third Monday in each month. The next hour is on February 20th, when the leader will be the Rev. Paul Gliddon.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. Every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m. there is held in the Crypt the Celebration of the Holy Communion for Pacifists, first planned by Dick Sheppard.

Book Now for the
EASTER YOUTH CONFERENCE

AT

Kent College, Canterbury

(Chairman : Dick Wood)



The study book for the conference will be, Leslie Artingstall's "Towards a Christian Economic," a copy of which will be sent to each member on receipt of booking fee. Other subjects will include, "The Witness of the Cross," Nationalism, Fascism and voluntary national service.

The extraordinarily modest fee of 30/- will pay conference expenses only if 100 people attend. Send your booking slip now, since this year it may be necessary to raise the fee for those who apply late.

BOOKING SLIP

EASTER YOUTH CONFERENCE, 6th to 11th April, 1939

I desire to be present at the Conference, and enclose a booking fee of 2/6 in return for study book.

I intend to pay the balance of the fee £1 7 6

I am unable to afford the full fee but can contribute towards my expenses £ : :

I am prepared to contribute towards the expenses of others £ : :

I desire
do not desire vegetarian food.

Name

Address

N.B. Please strike out inapplicable words.